

THE
S P E E C H

OF

MR. P-----

And several others,

In a certain august Assembly

On a late important Debate :

With an Introduction of the Matters
preceding it.

Printed in the Year -66. 1766.

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INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE the Meeting of P—rl—m—t, December 17th, 1765, it was understood, that Mr. P— was for the Repeal of the *Am—n St—p Act*, and that the M—y concurred with him in Opinion.

FOR some Days before the Meeting of P—t, a Report had been circulated, that the Minority had changed their Mind in Regard to the Act, and, instead of repealing, were bent on enforcing it. If this Report did not take its Rise among the Favourers of L—d B—, it was much indebted to them for its Progress, which was so great, as to affect the Stocks.

THE K—'s Sp—h on the 14th of *January* gave Cover to the Suggestion; but when the Gentlemen (who moved for the Address, and seconded it) had spoken, nothing could be clearer than that the M—y persisted in their

A

Intentions

Intentions to promote the Repeal.—The Friends of the late M——y applauded the K——'s S——h and approved of the proposed Address, which, as usual, followed the Speech exactly. But they took great Offence at the Tenderness of the Expression which the two first Gentlemen had made use of, concerning *Am——a*. Mr. N——g——t particularly insisted, that the Honour of the Kingdom was concerned to compel the Execution of the Act, until the Right was acknowledged, and the Repeal solicited as a Favour:—That he would rather have a Peppercorn as an Acknowledgement of the Right, after the Loss of Forty Battles, than Millions without it. He computed the Expence of the Troops now employed in *America* for their Defence, as he called it, to amount to Nine Pence in the Pound of the Land Tax of *England*, while the produce of the S——p Act would not raise One Shilling an Head on the Inhabitants of *Am——a*: He failed not to expatiate on the Ingratitude of the Colonies, and concluded with charging the M——st——s of encouraging Petitions to P——rl——nt and Instructions to Mem-
bers

bers from the trading and manufacturing Towns
against the S——p Act.

MR. P—, who, according to the prevailing Report, was not to appear in the House any more, but to be created an Earl, was the next Speaker. Every Friend of his Country rejoiced to see this Rumour contradicted by his Presence; as he always begins very low, and every Body was in Agitation on his first Rising, it was difficult to hear his Introduction, until he said,



“ I CAME this Day to Town, and until I
— I heard them read in this House I was a
“ Stranger to the Tenor of his M——y’s Sp—ch
“ and the proposed Address.—Unconnected—
“ unconsulted, I have not the Means of Infor-
“ mation: I am fearful of offending thro’
“ Mistake, therefore beg to be indulged with a
“ second Reading of the proposed Address.

THE Address being read, Mr. P— com-
mended the K—’s Sp—ch, approved of the
Address, as it decided nothing; every Member
being left by it at Liberty to take such a Part

concerning *Am——a* as he might afterwards see fit. The Word *early* he did not approve of, it did, he said, belong to the Notice that the M——y have given to the P—rl—m—t of the Troubles in *Am——a* — in a Matter of such Importance it should have been immediate.

“ I SPEAK not with Respect of Parties, I
 “ stand up in this Place single and unconnected
 “ —as to the last M——y (turning to Mr.
 “ *Gr—v—lle*) every capital Measure they have
 “ taken has been entirely wrong. As to the
 “ present Gentlemen, those at least whom I have
 “ in my Eye (looking at the Bench where
 “ C—w—y sat with the L—s of the Tr——y) I
 “ have no Objection; I have never been made
 “ a Sacrifice by any of them; their Characters
 “ are fair, and I am always glad when Men of
 “ fair Characters engage in his M——y’s Ser-
 “ vice. Some of them have done me the ho-
 “ nour to ask my poor Opinion before they
 “ would engage, these will do me the Justice to
 “ own, that I advised them to engage. But,
 “ notwithstanding, I love to be explicit, I can-
 “ not give them my Confidence; pardon me,
 “ Gentlemen, (bowing to the Tr——y Bench)
 “ Confidence

“ Confidence is a Plant of slow Growth in an
 “ aged Bosom ; Youth is the Season for Credu-
 “ lity ; comparing Events with each other, rea-
 “ soning from Effects to Causes—Methinks I
 “ plainly discover the Traces of an over-ruling
 “ Influence, various Influence over them. There
 “ is in the Act of Settlement a Clause, that
 “ every Minister should sign, with his Name,
 “ the Advice he gives his Sovereign—Would it
 “ were well observed. I have had the Honour
 “ to serve the Cr—n ; if I could have submitted
 “ to Influence I might have continued to serve ;
 “ but I could not be responsible for others—I
 “ have no local Attachment, indifferent whether
 “ a Man had been rocked in his Cradle on this
 “ or on the other Side of the *Tweed*, and I
 “ sought for Merit wherever it was to be found ;
 “ it is my Boast I was the first M——r that
 “ ever looked for it, and when I found it in the
 “ Mountains of the North, I called it forth,
 “ and drew thence into your Service an ‘hardy
 “ and intrepid Race of Men ; Men, who, lost by
 “ your Jealousy, a Prey to the Artifice of your
 “ Enemies, had gone nigh to over-turn the
 “ State in the War before the last. These Men,
 “ the last War, were brought to combat on
 “ your

“ your Side ; they served with Fidelity, as they
 “ fought with Valour, and conquered for you
 “ in every Part of the World.—Detested by
 “ the National Reflections against them,
 “ which are unjust, groundless, illiberal, un-
 “ manly. It was not the Country of the Men
 “ by which I was moved ; but the Man of that
 “ Country wanted Wisdom, and held Principles
 “ incompatible with Freedom.

“ It is a long Time, Mr. Sp——r, since I
 “ have attended the P———t. When the Re-
 “ solution was taken to t—x Am——a I was
 “ ill in Bed—when the Act passed, I was ill in
 “ Bed ; if I could have endured to have been car-
 “ ried in my Bed, so great was the Agitation of
 “ my Mind for the Consequences, I would
 “ have solicited some kind Hand to have laid
 “ me down on this Floor, to have borne my
 “ Testimony against it—it is now an Act which
 “ has passed.

“ I would speak with a Decency of every
 “ Act of this H—se, but I must beg of this
 “ H—se, Indulgence to speak of it with Free-
 “ dom,

dom,—I hope a Day may be appointed to
 consider the State of the Nation, with respect
 to *Am — a* ; I hope that all Gentlemen will
 come to the Debate, with that Temper and
 Impartiality which his Majesty recommends.
 and the Importance of the Subject requires
 a Subject of greater Importance than ever en-
 gaged the Attention of this House, that
 Subject only excepted, when, near a Century
 ago, it was a Question whether You your-
 selves were to be Bond or Free.

IN the mean Time, as I cannot depend on
 Health for any future Day, such is the Nature
 of my Infirmary, I will beg to say a few Words
 at present, leaving the Justice, the Equity, the
 Policy, the Expediency of the Act, to another
 Time, I will only speak of one Point, a Point
 which seems not to have been generally un-
 derstood, I mean the right.—Some Gen-
 tlemen (alluding to Mr. *N—g—t*) seem to
 have considered it as a Point of Honour ; if
 Gentlemen consider it in that Light, they
 lose all Sight of Right and Wrong, by fol-
 lowing a Delusion which must lead to De-
 struction.

“ IT

“ It is my Opinion that this Kingdom has
 “ no Right to lay a Tax on the C—l—n—s; at
 “ the same time I assert the Authority of this
 “ Kingdom over the C—l—n—s to be Sovereign
 “ and Supreme in every Circumstance of Go-
 “ vernment and Legislation whatsoever; they
 “ were Subjects of this Kingdom equally in-
 “ titled by your Laws to all the natural Rights
 “ of Manhood and the peculiar Privileges of
 “ *Englishmen*; equally bound to its Laws, and
 “ equally participating of its Constitution.
 “ The *A—ns* are Sons, not Bastards of
 “ *England*, but according to the Constitution
 “ of this free Country, Taxation is no Part of
 “ the governing or legislative Power; Taxes
 “ are the voluntary Grant or Gift of the
 “ Commons alone; in Legislation, the three
 “ Estates of the Realm are all concerned; but
 “ the Concurrence of the Peers and the Crown
 “ to tax is only necessary to clothe with the
 “ Form of Law, the Gift and Grant of the
 “ Commons alone.

“ In ancient Days the C—n, the Barons
 “ and the Clergy, gave, and granted to the
 “ C—n;

“ C---n ; they gave and granted what was
 “ their own. At present, since the Discovery
 “ of *Am—-a*, the C—ns are become the
 “ Proprietors of the Lands ; the Cr—n has di-
 “ vested itself of its great Estates ; the Church
 “ (God bless it) has but a Pittance ; the Pro-
 “ perty of the L—ds, compared with that of
 “ the C—ns, is as a Drop of Water to the
 “ Ocean ; and this House represents those
 “ C—ns, and those Proprietors virtually
 “ represent the rest of the Inhabitants : We
 “ therefore, in this House, give and grant,
 “ what is our own ; but in an *Am—n* Tax,
 “ what do we do ? We your M—y’s C—ns
 “ of *Great Britain*, give and ~~grant~~ to your
 “ M—y, what ? Our own Property ? No, we
 “ give and grant to your M—y, the Property
 “ of your M—y’s Commons in *Am—a*, an Absur-
 “ dity in Terms. This Distinction between Le-
 “ gislation and Taxation, is essentially necessary
 “ to Liberty ; the C—n and the P—rs, are equal-
 “ ly legislative Powers with the C—ns. If Taxa-
 “ tion, then, be a Part of simple Legislation, the
 “ C—n and the P—rs have Rights in Taxation,
 “ as well as yourselves, Rights which they
 “ will claim, which they will exercise, when-

" soever the Principal can be supported with
 " Power. There is an Idea in some, that the
 " C—l—n—s are virtually represented in this
 " in this H—se, I would fain know by whom
 " an *Am—n* is represented here? Is he re-
 " presented by any Kn—t of the Shire of any
 " County in the K—m, would to God that
 " respectable Representation were augmented
 " to a greater Number! Or will you tell him
 " he is represented by a Representative of a
 " B—gh; a B—h which, perhaps, was
 " was never seen by its Representative; a B—h
 " which, perhaps, no man ever saw; this has
 " been called the rotten Part of the C—st—tion,
 " it will not probably endure for another Cen-
 " tury; if it does not drop off of itself, it must
 " be amputated: But the Idea of a virtual Re-
 " presentation of *Am—a* in this House is the
 " most contemptible Notion, that ever entered
 " into the Head of Man, it does not deserve
 " a serious Refutation.

" THE C—ns of *Am—*, represented in their
 " several Assemblies, have ever been in the pos-
 " session of the exercise of their constitutional
 " Right

“ Right of giving and granting their own Mo-
 “ ney, they would have been Slaves if they had
 “ not enjoyed it; at the same time this King-
 “ dom, as the supreme governing and legisla-
 “ tive Power, has always bound the C—l—s by
 “ her Laws, by her Regulations, by her Re-
 “ strictions in Trade, in Navigation, Manufac-
 “ tures, in every Article whatsoever, except
 “ that of taking the Money out of their Pockets,
 “ without their Consent. Here then I would
 “ draw the Line

Quam ultra, citraque nequod consistere rectum.

MR. P— spoke some time after, but in a
 Voice so low that none but those who sat near
 him could distinguish what he said. A consi-
 derable Pause ensued; Mr. C—nw—y then got
 up, and said he waited to see whether any An-
 swer would be given to what was advanced by
 the R—t H—ble Gentlemen, reserving him-
 self, in expectation of a Reply; but as none
 had been given, he had only to declare, that
 his Sentiments were entirely conformable to
 those of that Gentleman, that they are so con-
 formable (he said) “ is a Circumstance that af-

“fects me with most sensible Pleasure, and does
 “me the greatest Honour. But two Things fell
 “from that Gentlemen which gave me Pain, as
 “whatever falls from that Gentleman, falls from
 “so great a Height as to make a deep Impres-
 “sion; I must endeavour to remove it. It was
 “objected, that the Notice given to P——t,
 “of the Troubles in *Am——a* was not early; I
 “can assure the House the first Accounts were
 “too vague and imperfect, to be worthy the
 “Attention of P——t, ’tis only of late they
 “have been precise and full. An over-ruling
 “Influence has also been hinted at; I have seen
 “nothing of it. I feel nothing like it. I disclaim
 “it for myself, and, as far as my Discernment
 “can reach, for all the rest of his M——y’s
 “Mi——rs. I did not ride into Place upon a
 “stalking Horse.”

It should have been observed, that Mr. P—, speaking of Liberty, said it had been made Use of as a stalking Horse to ride into Place:

“Now I am in, were I sensible I had done so,
 “I would turn the Reins, and ride out again.”

MR.

MR. P—, in answer, said, “ The Excuse is
 “ valid ; if it is a just one, that must appear
 “ from the Papers now before the H—e, —
 “ the Gentleman has spoken of riding into Place,
 “ and riding out of Place ; my Advice to him
 “ is not to be ridden.”

IN the Interval, Mr. Gr—vv—lle had recovered himself ; he avoided meddling with the Doctrine of Taxation being confined to the H—se of C—s, and being grounded on the free Gift of the collective Body, through the Medium of the Representative, neither did he attempt to defend the virtual Representation of Am—-a, but began with censuring the present M—y severely for delaying to give earlier Notice to P—t of the Disturbances in Am—-a ; he said, they began in *July*, and now we are in the Middle of *January*, “ lately they were only Oc-
 “ currences [the Word used in the K—g’s S—h,
 “ *December 17th*] they are now grown into Dis-
 “ turbances, to Tumults, to Riots, I doubt they
 “ border upon open Rebellion ; and if the Doc-
 “ trine I have heard this Day be confirmed, I
 “ fear they will lose that Name, to take that of
 a Rev—-tion ;

“ a Rev——tion ; this G——nt over them being
 “ dissolved, a Rev——tion will take Place in
 “ *Am——a.*

“ I cannot understand the Difference between
 “ internal and external Taxes, they are the
 “ same in Effect, and differ only in Name.

“ THAT this Kingdom is the Sovereign, the
 “ supreme legislative Power, over *Am——a*, is
 “ granted, it cannot be denied, and Taxation
 “ is a Part of that sovereign Power ; it is, it
 “ has been, exercised over those, who were not
 “ represented ; 'tis exercised over the *East In-*
 “ *dia* Company Merchants of *London*, the Pro-
 “ prietors of the Stocks, and over many great
 “ and Manufacturing Towns ; it was exercised
 “ over the Palatinate of *Durham*, and Bishop-
 “ rick of *Chester*, before they sent any Represent-
 “ atives to Parliament : I appeal to the Pream-
 “ bles of the Acts which gave them Represent-
 “ atives ; the one in the Reign of Henry the
 “ Eighth, the other of *Charles* the Second.”

He

HE then quoted the Statutes exactly, desired they might be read, which being done, he resumed his Discourse.

“ WHEN I proposed to tax *Am——a*, I asked
 “ the House, whether any Gentleman objected
 “ to the Right? I repeatedly asked it, and no
 “ Man would attempt to deny it; Protection
 “ and Obedience are reciprocal; *Great-Britain*
 “ protects *Am——a*, *Am——a* is bound to
 “ yield Obedience; if not, tell me, when the
 “ *Am——ns* were emancipated? When they
 “ want the Protection of this Kingdom, they
 “ are ready enough to ask it. That Protection
 “ has been always afforded them in the most full
 “ and ample Manner: The Nation has run
 “ itself into an immense Debt, to give them
 “ that Protection, and now they are called upon
 “ to contribute a small Share towards the Pub-
 “ lick Expence, an Expence arising from them-
 “ selves, they renounce your Authority, insult
 “ your Officers, break out, I might almost say,
 “ into Acts of open Rebellion.

“ THE

" THE seditious Sport of C—l—s owns its
 " Birth to the Factions of this House. Gentle-
 " men are careless of the Consequences of what
 " they say, provided it answers the immediate
 " Purpose of Opposition. We were told we
 " trod on tender Ground, we were bade to ex-
 " pect Disobedience: What was this but tell-
 " ing the *Am—ns* to stand up against the
 " Law? To encourage them with Expecta-
 " tions of Support from hence: Let us only
 " hold out a little, they would say, our Friends
 " will soon be in Power.

" UNGRATEFUL People of *America*! Boun-
 " ties have been extended to *them*, when I
 " had the Honour to serve the Cr—n, while
 " you yourselves were loaded with enormous
 " Debts: You have given Bounties on their
 " Lumber, their Iron, their Hemp; many Ar-
 " ticles you have relaxed in their Favour; the
 " Act of Navigation, that *Palladium* of *British*
 " Commerce: And yet I have been abused in
 " all the Publick Prints, as an Enemy to the
 " Trade of *America*. I have been particularly
 " charged

" charged with giving Orders and Instructions
 " to prevent their *Spanish* Trade, and thereby
 " stopping the Channels, by which alone *N*—
 " *Am*—*a* used to be supplied with Cash for
 " Remittances to this Country. I defy any
 " Gentleman to produce such Orders or Instruc-
 " tions : I discouraged no Trade but what was
 " illicit, what was prohibited by Act of Parlia-
 " ment, I desired a *West-India* Merchant, Mr.
 " *L*—*g*, a Gentleman of Character, and well
 " known in this City, may be examined ; he
 " will tell you, I offer every thing in my
 " Power to advance the Trade of *America*. I
 " was above answering anonymous Calumnies,
 " but now it becomes me to wipe off Asper-
 " sions."

Here Mr. *Gr—nv—lle* ceased, several Mem-
 bers rose up to speak ; Mr. *P*— seeming to rise,
 the House was so clamorous for him that the
 Speaker called it to Order.

MR. *P*— then began by prefacing, that he
 did not mean to have gone farther on the Sub-

ject that Day, that he designed only to throw out a few Hints, which Gentlemen, who were so confident of the Right of this Kingdom to levy Taxes on *Am——a*, might consider, might reflect upon in a cooler Manner. That the Right was at least equivocal: but, since the Gentleman who spoke last, had not stopped on that Ground, but had gone into the Whole, into the Justice, the Equity, the Policy, the Expediency of the *S——p* Act, as well as into the Right, he he would follow him into the whole Field, and combat his Argument in every Point. He was proceeding, when Lord *S-----e* got up, and called both Gentlemen to Order: He said, that both had departed from the Matter before the House, which was the *K—*'s Speech; and that Mr. *P—* was going to spake twice in the same Debate, tho' the House was not in a Committee.

MR. *G-----e* *On-----w* said, they were both in Order, as there was nothing said but what was fairly deducible from his *M——*'s Speech and
 appealed

appealed to the Sp-----r.—The Sp-----r decided in Mr. O----w's Favour.

THEN Mr. P— said, “ I do not apprehend I
 “ am speaking twice, I did expressly *reserve* a
 “ Part of my Subject, in order to save the
 “ Time of the House ; but am compelled to pro-
 “ ceed in it. I do not speak twice ; I only finish
 “ what I had designedly left imperfect ; but
 “ should the House be of a different Opinion,
 “ far be it from me to indulge a Wish of trans-
 “ gressing against Order ; if it be your Pleasure,
 “ I am silent.” Here he paused ; the House,
 resounding with, *Go on, Go on*, he then proceeded :

“ THOSE Gentlemen, who have charged this
 “ House with giving Birth to Sedition in *Am—*a,
 “ have spoken their Sentiments with Freedom
 “ against those unhappy People—that Freedom
 “ has become their Crime, and I am sorry to hear
 “ the Liberty of Speech, in this House, imputed
 “ as a Crime ; but the Imputation shall not dis-
 “ courage me : It is a Liberty which I mean to
 “ exercise. No Gentleman should be afraid to
 “ exercise it ; it is a Liberty by which the Gentle-

“ man who calumniates it, might himself have
 “ profited, he ought to have profited, and to
 “ have desisted from his Projects. The Gentle-
 “ man tells us *Am——a* is obstinate; *Am——a*
 “ is almost in open Rebellion. I rejoice that
 “ *Am——a* has resisted. Three Millions of Peo-
 “ ple, so dead to all Feelings of Liberty as vo-
 “ luntarily to submit to be Slaves, would have
 “ been fit Instruments to makes Slaves of all the
 “ rest. I come not here armed at all Points
 “ with Law-Cases and Acts of Parliament, with
 “ the Statute-Book doubled down into Dog’s
 “ Ears, to defend the Cause of Liberty: If I
 “ had, I should myself have cited the two Cases
 “ of *Durham* and *Chester*; I would have cited
 “ them to have shewn that even in arbitrary
 “ Reigns, Parliaments were ashamed to tax the
 “ People without their Consent, and allowed
 “ them Representatives. Why did the Gentle-
 “ man confine himself to *Durham* and *Chester*? he
 “ might have taken a higher Example in *Wales*:
 “ *Wales*, which never was taxed by P——nt
 “ until it was incorporated. I would not de-
 “ bate a particular Point of Law with the Gentle-
 “ man.

“man. I know his Abilities, I have been ob-
 “liged to his diligent Researches; but for the
 “Defence of Liberty upon a general Principle, a
 “a constitutional Principle, it is a Ground on
 “which I stand firm, on which I dare meet any
 “Man. The Gentleman tells of many who are
 “taxed and are not represented. The *India*
 “Company, Merchants, Stockholders, Manu-
 “facturers: Surely many of these are represent-
 “ed in other Capacities as Owners of Lands,
 “or as Freemen of Boroughs. It a Misfortune
 “that Men are not actually represented; but
 “they are all Inhabitants, and as such are vir-
 “tually represented. Many have it in their
 “Option to be actually represented. They
 “have Connections with ~~those~~ who elect, and
 “they have an Influence over them.----The
 “Gentleman mentioned the Stockholders, I hope
 “he does not reckon the Debts of the Nation,
 “as Part of the National Estate. Since the Ac-
 “cession of King *William*, many Ministers, some
 “of grate, others of moderate Abilities, have ta-
 “ken the Lead in Government.”——[He then
 went through the List of them, bringing it down

to himself, giving a short Sketch of the Character of each] “None of these ever dreamed of
 “robbing the Colonies of their constitutional
 “Rights, it was reserved to make the *Æra* of
 “the late Administration; not that there were
 “wanting some, when I had the Honour to serve
 “his M——y, to propose to me the burning my
 “Fingers in the *Am——n* St—p Act; with the
 “Enemy at their Backs, with our Bayonets at
 “their Breasts. In the Day their Distress, perhaps
 “the *Am——ns* would have submitted to the
 “Imposition, but it would have been taking an
 “ungenerous and unjust Advantage.——The
 “Gentleman boasts of his Bounties to *Am——a*;
 “are these Bounties finally intended for the Be-
 “nefit of this Kingdom? If they are, where
 “is his peculiar Favour to *Am——a*? If they
 “are not, he has misapplied the national Treas-
 “ure.

“I am no Courtier of *Am——a*, I stand up for
 “this Kingdom, I maintain, that P——rl——nt
 “has a Right to bind, to restrain *Am——a*. Our
 “Legislative Power over the Colonies is sove-
 “reign

“ reign and supreme ; when it ceases to be sove-
 “ reign and supreme, I advise every Gentleman
 “ to sell his Lands, if he can, and embark for
 “ that Country. When two Countries are con-
 “ nected, as *England* and her Colonies, without
 “ being incorporated, the one must necessarily
 “ govern the other. If the Greater must rule the
 “ Lesser ; and so to rule it, as not to contradict
 “ the fundamental Principles that are common
 “ to both. If the Gentleman understands not the
 “ Difference between internal and external
 “ Taxes, I cannot help it ; there is a plain Dif-
 “ ference between Taxes levied for the Purpose
 “ of raising a Revenue, and Duties imposed for
 “ the Regulation of Trade, for the Accommoda-
 “ tion of the Subject, altho’ in the Consequences
 “ some Revenue might arise accidentally from
 “ the latter.

“ THE Gentleman asks, when the C—s were
 “ emancipated ? I desire to know, when they
 “ were made Slaves ? But I dwell not upon
 “ Words. While I had the Honour of serving
 “ his M—y, I availed myself of the Means of
 “ Information,

" Information, which I derived from my Office:
 " I speak, therefore, from Knowledge; my Ma-
 " terials were good, and I was at Pains to digest,
 " to collect, to consider them: I will be bold to
 " affirm, that the Profits to *Great-Britain* from
 " the Trade of its Colonies, through all its Bran-
 " ches, is Two Millions a Year. This is the
 " Fund that carried you triumphantly through
 " the late War. Threescore Years ago, Estates
 " that were then at Two Thousand Pounds a
 " Year, are now at Three Thousand. Those
 " Estates then sold from Fifteen to Eighteen
 " Years Purchase, the same may now be sold for
 " Thirty. You owe this to *Am—*; this is the
 " Price that *Am—* pays you for her Protec-
 " tion. And shall a miserable Financier come
 " with a Boast, that he can filch a Pepper-corn
 " into the Exchequer, to the Loss of Millions to
 " the Nation? I dare not say how much high-
 " er: It is possible these Profits may be aug-
 " mented, omitting the great Increase of People
 " by natural Population in the Northern Colo-
 " nies, and the Emigration from every Part of
 " *Europe*. I am convinced the whole commer-
 " cial

“cial System of *Am——a* may be allowed to Ad-
 “vantage ; you have prohibited, when you
 “ought to have encouraged ; you have encou-
 “raged when you ought to have prohibited ;
 “improper Restraints have been laid on the
 “Continent, in Favour of the Islands. You
 “have but Two Nations to trade with in *Am——a*
 “(would you had Twenty) let Acts of P——t,
 “in Consequence of Treaties, remain. But let
 “not an *E——sb* Minister, become a Custom-
 “House Officer for *S——n*, for any foreign Power :
 “Much is wrong, much may be amended for the
 “general Good of the Whole. Does the Gen-
 “tleman complain that he has been misrep-
 “sented in the Publick Prints ? ~~It is~~ a common
 “Misfortune ; in the *Sp——sb* Affair in the last
 “War, I was abused in all the News-papers, for
 “having advised his Majesty to violate the Laws
 “of Nations with Regard to *S——n* ; the Abuse
 “was industriously circulated, even in Hand-
 “Bills : The Admi-----n propagated the
 “Abuse. I never contradicted it---I will not say
 “what Advice I *did* give the K——g, my Advice
 “is in Writing, signed by myself, and in Pos-
 D “ session

"cession of the C—n. But I will say what Advice I did *not* give the K—g, I did not advise the K—g to violate any of the Laws of Nations.

"As to the Report of the Gentleman's preventing in some Way, the Trade for Bullion with the *Spaniards*, it was spoken of so confidently, that I own I was one of those who did believe it to be true; the Gentleman must not wonder that he was not contradicted, when, as a Minister, he asserted the Right of P—l—m—t to t—x *Am—d*. I know not how it is, but there is a Modesty in this H—se, that does not choose to contradict a M—st—r. I wish Gentlemen would get the better of that Modesty; if they do not, perhaps the collective Body may begin to abate of its Respect for the Rep—s."

"Lord *Bacon* has told me, that a great Question would not fail of being agitated at one Time or other; I was willing to agitate that of the *German War*. Nobody would object to it, one Gentleman only excepted; since removed into the

the upper House by Succession to an ancient Barony; he told me he did not like my *German War*, I honoured the Man for it, and was sorry when he was turned out of his Post."

"A great deal has been said out of Doors, of the Power and Strength of *Am——a*. It is a Topick that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good Cause, on a sound Bottom, the Force of this Country can crush *Am——a* to Atoms. I know the Valour of your Troops, I know the Skill of your Officers: There is not a Company of Foot that has served in *Am——a* out of which you may not pick a Man of sufficient Knowledge and Experience, to make a Governor of a Colony there; but on a dangerous Ground, on the *St—p A—*, where so many here will think it a crying Injustice (I am one will lift up my Hands against it) in such a Cause your Success would be hazardous. *Am——a*, if she falls, would fall like a strong Man; she would embrace the Pillars of the State and pull down the *Con——n* along with her."

"Is this your boasted Peace? Not to sheath
 "your Sword in the Scabbard, but to sheath it
 "in the Bowels of your Countrymen.—Will
 "you quarrel with your selves, now that the
 "whole House of *Bourbon* is united against you?
 "While *Fr—e* disturbs your Fisheries at *New-*
 "*fouland*, embarrasses your Slave Trade in *Af-*
 "*rica*, and with-holds from your S—fts in *Ca-*
 "*nada* their Property, stipulated by Treaty,
 "while the R—om of the *Manillas* is denied by
 "S—n, and its Conqueror B——y traduced as
 "a mean Plunderer. The Gentleman whose
 "noble and generous Spirit would do honour
 "to the proudest Grandee of their Country."

"Say the *Am---ans* have not acted in all
 "Things with Prudence and Temper; they
 "have been wronged, they have been driven to
 "Madness by Injustice: Will you punish them
 "for the Madness you have created? Rather
 "let Prudence and Temper come first from
 "this Side. I will undertake for *Am---a* that
 "she will follow the Example. There are two
 "Lines in a Ballad of *Prior's*, for a Man's Be-
 "haviour

“ hayiour to his Wife, so applicable to you, and
 “ your Colonies, I cannot help repeating them,

“ Be to her Faults a little blind, *

“ Be to her Virtues very kind.

“ Upon the Whole, I will beg leave to tell
 “ the House what is my real Opinion: It is that
 “ the S—p A— be repealed absolutely, *totally*
 “ *and immediately*. That the Reason of the Re-
 “ peal be assigned, because it was founded upon
 “ erroneous Principles; at the same Time let
 “ the sovereign Authority of this Country over
 “ the Colonies be asserted in as strong Terms
 “ as can be advised — and be made to extend
 “ to every Point of Legislation whatsoever: That
 “ we may bind their Trade, confine their Ma-
 “ nufactures, and exercise every Power whatso-
 “ ever, except that of taking their Money
 “ out of their Pockets without their Con-
 “ sents.”

N. B. Mr. P— observed, that the Man who
 is an Enemy to the Liberty of *Am—*—*a*, is a dan-
 gerous Man to the Liberty of his own Country.

Mr.

MR. D-d-w-ll rose after Mr. P-, and said it should not be expected that *he* could say any Thing to the Subject on which Mr. P- had spoken; it would not now admit a Doubt that the S-p A- must be repealed:

He went on to shew Mr. Gr-nv-ll had not hurted the *Spanish* Trade by giving Orders and Instructions, but by forbearing to give them; particularly, in respect to Bullion, which was not prohibited by any Laws.

MR. B-kf-d was the last Speaker; he assented to Mr. Gr-nv-ll, but that he had denied the Right of P-l-m-t to send internal Taxes to Am-a. He had only allowed the Power of P-l-m-t to be omnipotent.

HE concluded with expressing his perfect agreement in Sentiments with his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. P-) except one Particular (the restraint of the Continent in favour of the Islands) in which, he was sure he could convince him of his Mistake.

F I N I S.

MS. B. 1. 15. 1379. 112